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"DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD" AND SHAKESPEARE'S "HAMLET."¹

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

IN the last number of *Modern Philology* (Vol. II, No. 2), October, 1904, Wilhelm Creizenach publishes an article entitled "'Der bestrafte Brudermord' and its Relation to Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'" (pp. 249-60). It is, as he informs us in a footnote (p. 249), a confirmation and defense of views previously discussed in detail (*Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1887, pp. 1 ff., and *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vol. XXIII, 1889).

With the exception of a single point, Creizenach devotes himself exclusively to a reply to Gustav Tanger's "'Der bestrafte Brudermord' oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dänemark und sein Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'" (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 224 f.), published sixteen years ago, which in turn was an able review of Creizenach's first contribution to the subject (*Berichte*, etc.). Apparently Creizenach is not acquainted with John Corbin's criticism of Tanger's article (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. V, pp. 247 ff.), which is, in its conclusions regarding Tanger's work, almost identical with Creizenach's. Corbin writes (p. 251):

Tanger's argument, in short, though it pretty clearly establishes the scene relationship between the German version and the First Quarto [this point is not touched upon in Creizenach's latest contribution to the subject: does he, too, tacitly admit the validity of Tanger's argument?], fails notably in explaining Creizenach's nineteen particular instances.

¹ D = "Der bestrafte Brudermord" (edited by WILHELM CREIZENACH in Vol. XXIII of *Kürschner's National-Litteratur*, pp. 149 ff.).

A = SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*, First Quarto, 1603 (FURNESS, "The Variorum Shakespeare": *Hamlet*, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.).

B = SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*, Second Quarto, 1604 (W. VIETOR, "Shakespeare Reprints," Vol. II, *Hamlet*: "Parallel Texts of the First and Second Quartos and the First Folio," Marburg, 1891).

Y = CREIZENACH'S lost Shakespearian version, a stage copy.

Z = The so-called *Ur-Hamlet*, ascribed to THOMAS KID.

The remaining literature which has appeared during the last sixteen years also Creizenach ignores, for the one new argument which he introduces, in connection with the view recently expressed by Schick, has but indirect bearing upon the question in dispute. And even in this instance Creizenach's reasoning seems to be somewhat fanciful. He writes (*Modern Philology*, October, 1904):

Schick, for example, concludes unhesitatingly from D that the traditional legend had been so altered in Z that Hamlet does not reach his goal by means of clever simulation, but meets a tragic end. I think there can be no doubt that when Shakespeare, during his gloomy period, created a new Hamlet tragedy, he treated the traditional story in the same manner as he did the legend of *King Lear* about that very time.

Now it is true that not only in *Saxo Grammaticus* but also in the French version of Belleforest Hamlet completes his revenge without thereby meeting a tragic end. But it is equally true that none of these prose accounts drops the story of Hamlet at this point, but that in all of them Hamlet ultimately finds a tragic death. Besides, there is in Belleforest, even in that portion which precedes the completion of the revenge, a peculiar motif that might easily have suggested not only the tragic end but even the very circumstances under which the dramatic versions present it. The passage occurs in Hamlet's words to his mother: "il faut ou qu'vne fin glorieuse mette fin à mes iours, ou qu'ayant les armes au poing, chargé de triomphe & victoire, ie ravisse la vie à ceux qui rendent la mienne mal-heureuse." These two considerations seem to me quite sufficient to induce any English dramatist of the sixteenth century, especially one like Kyd, to give the fable a tragic turn, and they are, at any rate, I believe, quite as deserving of our attention as Creizenach's reference to Shakespeare's "gloomy period" and "King Lear."

The results of his investigations Creizenach summarizes as follows (*Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 260):

There can be no doubt that (1) D is traceable to a stock-piece of English players traveling in Germany; that (2) the performances of such companies were very often based on stage manuscripts; that (3) in D characteristics of A and B are found that occur in no printed edition;

that (4) the Shakespearian troupe must have played a version of *Hamlet* in which again the characteristics of A and B were combined. Therefore the supposition that D is based on the stage text of the Shakespearian troupe is well founded. This conjecture becomes a certainty after a careful comparison of the parts of D which agree with those of A and B.

With the first three of Creizenach's theses everyone, I think, who has studied the question, will readily agree. The fourth conclusion, however, as Creizenach has not produced any new data, is no more convincing now than it was in 1887. Creizenach's arguments have, so far as I know, convinced but one of the more prominent Shakespearian scholars, and even him only in part. Gregor Sarrazin writes (*Anglia*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 f.):

Ich halte daher den prolog des "Bestraften Brudermordes" für eine Übertragung des Kyd'schen prologs zum Urhamlet. Damit soll indessen nicht gesagt sein, dass das deutsche Stück überhaupt unmittelbar auf den Urhamlet zurückgehe. Vielmehr neige auch ich zur Ansicht Creizenach's, dass eine frühere Shakespear'sche Bearbeitung zu Grunde liegt.

That is, we are to look upon the prologue of the German play as Kyd's work, the play itself as Shakespeare's. Furthermore, Sarrazin does not say what relation this "frühere Shakespear'sche Bearbeitung" has to the two quarto versions. In his later monograph (*Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892) Sarrazin does not refer to Creizenach's theory.

Creizenach, however, is very specific in placing his lost Shakespearian version (Y) between A and B, but nearer to B than to A; cf. *Berichte*, p. 38: "B die Grundlage von Y;" *Schauspiele*, p. 136: "Y die Bühnenbearbeitung von B;" *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 257, 259 ff.:

We shall see presently that the undisputed points of agreement between D and A are not half so numerous as those between D and B. . . . But I shall not discuss further the points of agreement between D and A, as I have dealt with them at length in former publications. I only wish to emphasize again that these coincidences are not nearly so numerous as those between D and B; if we consider only those points of agreement from which the possibility of chance is eliminated, we find that there are eight coinciding with B and three with A, not counting the two mentioned above which I have cited in the *Berichte*, pp. 14 and 32, under No. 10.

In this position Creizenach stands almost alone.¹ The generally accepted theory is quite the reverse, namely, that D is more intimately related to A than to B. In fact, A for a time was regarded as the direct source of D—a theory held by a scholar of no less repute than F. J. Furnivall (Forewords to Grigg's facsimile of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, p. xi), and with certain restrictions still held by other prominent Shakespearian scholars.

The theory that D is based on the so-called *Ur-Hamlet* (Z), usually ascribed to Thomas Kyd, Creizenach declines to discuss in detail. (*Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 249): "This view I shall not discuss in detail in the following paragraphs, as its erroneous-ness must be at once evident to anyone competent to judge." And yet this view is by no means without advocates in England and Germany, while it obtains quite generally in America.

To recapitulate, there are then at the present time three theories regarding D:

(1) Tanger's theory (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XIII, p. 245): "Am wahrscheinlichsten bleibt immer die annahme, dass die verschwindend wenigen auf B hinweisenden punkte durch die lebendige schauspielerische tradition in das im übrigen auf A beruhende deutsche machwerk gelangt seien." This theory has been recently adopted by Edward Dowden and F. S. Boas. Dowden writes in the introduction to his edition of *Hamlet* (London, 1899, pp. xiv f.):

it seems to me far more probable that the German play is a debased adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in its earliest form. Perhaps as Tanger has suggested (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXIII) a few recollections of the later form of Shakespeare's play were woven in by actors who arrived in Germany at a later date.

Boas (*The Works of Thomas Kyd*, Oxford, 1901, p. xlviii), asserts:

Tanger has, I consider, conclusively proved that this piece (D) is nothing more than a version of the First Quarto, with probably a few later additions due to actors familiar with Shakespeare's play in its later form.

¹ Creizenach's theory is accepted by E. HERZ: *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland* (Litzmann's "Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen," Vol. XVIII, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1903), pp. 87 ff.

(2) Creizenach's theory, as stated above, namely that D represents the stage version of B.¹

(3) The theory of those who believe that D represents the *Ur-Hamlet* (Z). And here I will first give the literature not yet mentioned, which has appeared since the publication of Creizenach's first articles.

John Corbin. *The Elizabethan Hamlet*, London and New York, 1895; *The German Hamlet and the Earlier English Versions*, "Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature," Vol. V (1896), pp. 245 ff.

M. W. MacCallum. *The Authorship of the Early Hamlet*, "The Furnivall Miscellany," Oxford, 1901, pp. 282 ff.

M. Blakemore Evans. *Der bestrafte Brudermord; sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's Hamlet*, Bonn, Diss., 1902; also announced as Vol. XIX of B. Litzmann's "Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen."

Ashley H. Thorndike. *The Relations of "Hamlet" to Contemporary Revenge Plays*, "Publications of the Modern Language Association of America," 1902, pp. 125 ff.

J. Schick. "Die Entstehung des Hamlet," Festvortrag gehalten auf der General-Versammlung der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft am 23. April, 1902. *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. xiii ff.

The authors do not make the direct attempt in all of these essays to prove the connection of D with Z, although it is the expressed belief of each one. But a careful reading even of those bearing

¹ While by no means an advocate of this view, I have found a few points which, I believe, would tend to strengthen Creizenach's position. They are, however, not incompatible with the third theory.

a) It is supposed that the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays represents in the main the stage copies. If then we assume that such be the case, and if we further assume that the First Folio represents the stage copy of B, we might fairly expect to find agreements between D (representing according to Creizenach the stage version of B) and the First Folio. Creizenach (*Berichte*, pp. 42 f.) fails to find anything of importance. Now the Dumb Show in D begins: "Der König mit seiner Gemahlin. Er will sich schlafen legen; die Königin bittet, er soll es nicht thun, er legt sich doch nieder, die Königin nimmt ihren Abschied mit einem Kuss und geht ab." First Folio (111, ii; VIETOR, p. 162): "Enter a King and a Queene, very louingly; the Queene embracing him. She kneeles and makes show of Protestation unto him." Of this there is no trace in the corresponding stage directions of the First and Second Quartos.

b) A, 1426: "No, not so: he tooke my father sleeping," etc. B, 111, iii, 80: "A tooke my father grosly full of bread." D, 155, 17 f.: *Geist*. . . . "Wisse, dass ich den Gebrauch hatte, welchen mir die Natur angewöhnet, dass ich täglich nach der Mahlzeit zu Mittage in meinem königlichen Lustgarten zu gehen pflegte, um allda mich eine Stunde der Ruhe zu bedienen."

The German version here evidently represents a text on which both A and B in some way depend.

c) The character of the Queen in D apparently resembles the corresponding rôle in B to a much greater degree than in A. In D and B, though sorrowing for Hamlet's madness, she is entirely passive, while in A she promises Hamlet her assistance and to some extent fulfils her promise. I must, however, reserve discussion of this point for a later publication.

but indirectly upon the subject proves very fruitful, particularly so in the case of Thorndike's paper.

II. EXPOSITION OF THE THEORY THAT D IS DERIVED FROM Z.

The relations of D to Shakespeare may, I think, be more nearly determined. Creizenach's theory fails to convince me, and yet, on the other hand, the arguments already presented to show that D was derived from Z¹ have not seemed to me satisfactory. The demands of Creizenach that, if we are to accept this theory, it must be shown that (1) D retains passages and motives more resembling the prose tales of Hamlet than does Shakespeare; and that (2) if Z were written by Thomas Kyd it should retain agreement with Kyd not evident in Shakespeare, have seemed to me perfectly justified. An examination of the evidence shows that agreement with Kyd is not confined to the prologue of D, as Sarrazin has asserted, and that D retains something of the "English Seneca," which according to Nash exerted so great an influence upon the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*.

My proof is twofold in nature, (A) negative, (B) positive.

A. The negative proof—to show that in certain instances, where D resembles one or both of the Shakespearean versions, it preserves a more original text than either A or B. This would tend to controvert Creizenach's view that the original of D must be placed between A and B.

D, 164, 28 f.:	A, 1235, f.:	B, 111, ii, 85 f.:
<i>Hamlet</i> : . . . Horatio, gieb wohl acht auf den König: wo er sich entfärbt oder alterirt, so hat er gewiss die That ver- richtet, . . . ich bitte dich aber, observire alle Dinge genau, denn ich werdesimu- liren.	<i>Hamlet</i> : Marke thou the King, doe but observe his lookes, For I mine eies will ruiet to his face: And if he doe not bleach, and change at that, It is a damned ghost that we haue seen.	<i>Hamlet</i> : . . . Obserue my Vncle, if his oc- culted guilt Doe not it selfe vn- kennill in one speech, It is a damned ghost that we haue seene, And my imaginations are as foule

¹For a convenient review of these arguments see CORBIN's paper in *Harvard Studies*, etc., Vol. V, pp. 253 f.

D:	A:	B:
<i>Horatio</i> : Ihro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen.	Horatio, haue a care, obserue him well. <i>Horatio</i> : My lord, mine eies shall still be on his face, And not the smallest alteration That shall appear in him, but I shall note it.	As <i>Vulcan's</i> stithy; give him heedfull note, For I mine eyes will riuert to his face, And after we will both our iudgements ioyn In censure of his seeming. <i>Horatio</i> : Well my lord, If a steale ought the whilst this play is playing And scape detected, I will pay the theft.

The parallelism here between D and A is very apparent: D, “Horatio, gieb wohl acht auf den König” = A, “Marke thou the King” (cf. also Hamlet’s words “haue a care”); D, “wo er sich entfärbt oder alterirt;” A, “And if he doe not bleach, and change at that” (cf. “alteration” in Horatio’s reply); D, “ich bitte dich aber, observire alle Dinge genau,” = A, “Horatio, haue a care, obserue him well;” D, “Ihro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen” = A, “My lord, mine eies shall still be on his face.” To be noted are also the two complete lines: “For I mine eies will riuert to his face,” and “It is a damned ghost that we haue seen,” common to both A and B, but which have no counterpart in D. Can it now be due simply to chance that the striking parallelisms between D and A are without exception changed in B, while on the other hand the parallelisms between A and B have absolutely nothing to correspond in D? Here at least we have a passage where it is quite certain that D is more closely related to A than to B. It is likewise evident that B here represents a revised text, that is, that Shakespeare here saw fit to change the phraseology, not the content, of A where it agrees with D. Surely a noteworthy fact.

Creizenach would of course explain the existence of these

parallels between D and A on the one hand, and A and B on the other, by referring them all to Y. How much simpler it would be, however, if we could say, D here represents Z; the parallelisms between D and A represent passages introduced by Shakespeare from Z into his first casting of the play (A), which, however, for poetic reasons were changed in the revision (B); while parallelisms between A and B represent Shakespeare's own additions to Z in the first casting (A), which were therefore preserved in the revision (B). That such an explanation of at least a part of this very passage is not so fanciful as it may appear to Creizenach, we shall soon see.

In that much disputed scene in A, between Horatio and the Queen, which corresponds with no scene in either D or B, we read (A, 1747 ff.):

Hor.: Madame, your sonne is safe arriv'd in *Denmarke*,
 This letter I euen now receiv'd of him,
 Whereas he writes how he escap't the danger,
 And subtle treason that the king had plotted,
 Being crossed by the contention of the windes,
 He found the Packet sent to the king of *England*, etc.

Now I fail to see any possible connection between these two last lines. How can the "contention of the windes" be directly responsible for the finding of the "Packet"? As is well known this "contention of the windes" reappears in D, and the connection is here perfectly logical (D, 181, 23 f.): "*Hamlet*: . . . Nun begab es sich, dass wir eines Tages contrairen Wind hatten, und an ein Eyland nicht ferne von Dovern anker setzten." Then follows an account of the murderous attempt of Hamlet's two companions upon his life, ending so fatally for themselves. Here we have a parallelism between D and A where it is obviously impossible to derive D from either A or B, and where D is more original than even A.¹

It is apparent even to a casual reader of D that this version differs entirely from Shakespeare in certain matters of not unimportant detail. Creizenach would explain these differences by

¹ I am well aware that Creizenach considers the text of D here hopelessly corrupt. I shall, however, present in a later publication grounds for my belief in the originality of D in this passage.

saying that they are simply corruptions of Shakespeare's text due to the English players in Germany. To a few of these differences, however, I would call special attention, for it is only in such passages, where D differs from Shakespeare, that we can hope to find indisputable evidence for or against the theory that D represents the *Ur-Hamlet* of Thomas Kyd.

Hamlet's advice to the players refers in Shakespeare (III, ii, 1 f.) to a proper delivery, something that is not even mentioned in the corresponding passage in D (163, 23 f.), where special stress is laid upon accuracy of costume. Moreover the manner of Ophelia's death is entirely different in D and in Shakespeare. That the beauty of Shakespeare's language and the peculiar charm of his characters should be quite lacking in the German version of the English players, I can readily understand, but that an adapter whose sole purpose was to hold the attention of his audience should omit the crowing of the cock in the ghost scene, or the words of Hamlet when he stabs the concealed Polonius, "a rat, a rat," is beyond my comprehension. Do any of these differences between D and Shakespeare point either to the prose tale, the sources of the drama, or do they show striking resemblance to the works of Kyd?

B. The positive proof—showing:

1. Resemblances between D and Belleforest's prose tale,¹ which do not appear in Shakespeare.

Creizenach (*Berichte*, p. 30) notes the following instance in Amleth's speech to his mother (Belleforest, pp. 222, 1 f.): "souz le fard d'vn pleur dissimulé vous couvriez l'acte le plus meschant;"² D, 170, 1 f.: "*Hamlet*, 'Weint ihr? ach, lasts nur bleiben, es sind doch lauter Crocodillstränen.'"

This parallelism Creizenach regards as accidental, and to this "völlig vereinzelttes Zusammentreffen" he would assign no importance. But is the case so "völlig vereinzelt"? I believe not.

a) It is at least noteworthy that both in Belleforest and D the above quoted words of Hamlet, "a rat, a rat," are entirely

¹ Belleforest I shall quote according to the critical edition which I hope soon to make public.

² "d'vn pleur dissimulé" is translated in *The Hystorie of Hamblet* (1608) by "of a dissimulating creature"—a bit of proof that Z was based not upon an older print of this version, as has been so often asserted.

wanting, although appearing in all versions of Shakespeare and *The Hystorie of Hamlet*. This is another bit of proof that the *Hystorie* was not published until general interest had been aroused for Hamlet by Shakespeare's drama, but it also shows that D here is closer to Belleforest than is Shakespeare.

b) Belleforest, 219, 15 ff. (marginal gloss, p. 220: "Repentance de la Royne Geruthe"):

Ayant ainsi descouvert l'embusche, & puny l'inventeur d'icelle il (Amleth) s'en revinst trouver la Royne, laquelle se tourmentoit & plouroit voyant toute son esperance perdue: car quelque faute qu'elle eust commise, si estoit elle angoissee grandement, voyant que ce seul fils qui luy restoit, ne luy servoit que de mocquerie, chacun luy reprochant sa folie, vn trait de laquelle elle en avoit veu devant ses yeux: ce qui luy donna vn grand elancement de conscience, estimant que les Dieux luy envoyassent ceste punition, pour s'estre incestueusement accouplee avec le tyran meurtier de son espoux.

D. 170, 29 f.: *Königin (alleine)*: Ach Himmel, wie hat doch die Melancholie diesen Prinzen so viele Raserey zugebracht! Ach, mein einziger Prinz hat seinen Verstand ganz verloren! Ach, ach, ich bin viel Schuld daran! Hätte ich meinen Schwager, meines vorigen Gemahls Bruder, nicht zu der Ehe genommen, so hätte ich meinem (Sohn) nicht die Krone Dännemark aus der Hand gespielt.

Note first the similarity of situation in Belleforest and D. In both Hamlet leaves the stage shortly after killing the old adviser, and in both there is a soliloquy, or what amounts to the same thing, on the part of the queen. For an exactly parallel scene I would call attention to Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, 11, i, 95 ff., a scene between Perseda and Erastus where Perseda accuses her lover of inconstancy. The closing lines read:

Erast. If words, nor teares, nor lookes may win remorse,

What then remaines? for my perplexed heart

Hath no interpreters but wordes, or teares, or lookes.

Per. And they are all as false as thou thy selfe.

Exit Perseda.

(Then follows a monologue by Erastus.) (11, i, 163 f.)

Hamlet. Seheth Ihr nicht den Geist Eures seeligen Ehegemahls?

Sehet, er winket, als wollte er mit Euch reden.

Königin. Wie? ich sehe ja nichts.

Hamlet. Ich glaube es wohl, dass Ihr nichts sehet, denn Ihr seyd nicht mehr würdig, seine Gestalt zu sehen. Pfui, schämt Euch, ich mag kein Wort mehr mit Euch reden. (ab.) — D, 170, 23 f.

(Followed by the monologue of the queen as given above.)

In Shakespeare there is nothing at all similar—Hamlet here affords the queen no opportunity for the monologue. Furthermore, while in all versions the queen is represented as sorrowing for Hamlet's condition, only in Belleforest and D does she accuse herself of being the cause of this madness by having married her former husband's brother. In Shakespeare I can discover no trace of this.

c) Belleforest, 232, 24 f. (from Amleth's speech to his mother): Vous priant que selon l'amitié que vous devez à vostre sang, vous ne faciez plus de compte de ce paillard mon ennemy, lequel ie feray mourir, quoy que tous les demons le tinsent en leur garde, & ne sera en la puissance de ses courtisans, que ie n'en despeche le môde.

D, 181, 7 f.: *Hamlet.* Ich bin nun wieder anhero gelanget, kann aber noch zu keiner Revange kommen, weil der Brudermörder allezeit mit viel Volk umgeben. (Cf. also D, 161, 32 f.)

In Shakespeare there is nothing to correspond.

d) Belleforest, 210, 17 f.: Mais le galant (Amleth) les marquoit avec intention de s'en venger vn iour avec telle effort, qu'il en seroit à iamais memoire; or, Belleforest, 227, 6 f.: Car les desir de le venger sont tellement gravez en mon coeur, que si bien tost ie ne meurs, i'espere d'en faire vne telle, & si haute vengeance qu'il en sera à iamais parlé en ces terres.

D, 157, 31 f.: *Hamlet.* Horatio, ich will mich an diesen Kronstüchtigen, an diesen Ehebrecher und Mörder also rächen, dass die Nachwelt der Ewigkeit davon nachsagen soll.

Here, also, there is nothing to correspond in the Shakespearian versions.

In my dissertation I have noted these and numerous other points of agreement between Belleforest and D. These, however, will suffice to show that the “Zusammentreffen” between D and Belleforest are not so “völlig vereinzelt” as Creizenach believes.

2. Resemblances between D, Kyd's works,¹ and the *English Seneca*.

¹ Kyd I quote according to Boas's edition.

a) To select one example from the prologue of D—D, 150, 11 ff.:

derowegen seydt bereit, den Saamen der Uneinigkeit auszustreuen, mischet Gift unter ihre Eh', und Eifersucht in ihre Herzen. Legt ein Rachfeuer an, lasst die Funken in dem ganzen Reich herumfliegen, verwirret die Blutsfreunde in dem Lasternetz, und machet der Hölle eine Freude, damit diejenigen, welche in der Mord-See schwimmen, bald ersaufen.

Revenge. Be still, *Andrea*; ere we go from hence,
 Ile turne their freendship into fell despight;
 Their loue to mortall hate, their day to night;
 Their hope into despair, their peace to warre;
 Their ioyes to paine, their bliss to miserie.

—*Spanish Tragedy*, 1, vi, 5 ff.

Juno Let hateful hurt now come in anger wood,
 And fierce impyety imbrew himselfe with his owne bloud,
 And errour eke, and fury arm'd agaynst it selfe to fight.

* * * * *
 Beginne ye servantes now of hell: the feruent burning tree,
 Of Pyne shake up: and set with snakes her dreadfull flocke to see.
 Let now Megæra bring to sight, and with her mournful hand
 For burning rage bring out of hell a huge and direful brand.

—*English Seneca*, p. 2b.¹

Cf. also *English Seneca*, pp. 22, 22b.

There is absolutely nothing here to correspond in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

b) D, 157, 25 f.: *Hamlet*. . . . aber von dieser Stunde an will ich anfangen eine simulirte Tollheit, und in der selben Simulation will ich meine Rolle so artig spielen, bis ich Gelegenheit finde, meines Herrn Vaters Tod zu rächen.

Or D, 157, 33 f.: ich will itzund gehen und ihm verstellterweise aufwarten, biss ich Gelegenheit finde, die Rache auszuüben.

Hieronymo

And to conclude, I will reuenge his death,
 But how? not as the vulgare wits of men.
 With open, but ineuitable ils,
 As by a secret, yet a certaine meane,
 Which vnder kindeship wil be cloked best.
 Wise men will take their opportunitie,
 Closely and safely fitting things to time.
 But in extreames aduantage hath no time;
 And therefore all times fit not for reuenge

¹ *English Seneca* according to the translation of 1581.

Thus therefore will I rest me in vnrest,
Dissembling quiet in vnquietnes,
Not seeming that I know their villanies,
That my simplicitie may make them think
That ignorantly I will let all slip:

* * * * *

No, no, *Hieronimo*, thou must enioyne
Thine eies to obseruation, and thy tung
To milder speeches then thy spirit affords;

* * * * *

Till to reuenge thou know when, where, and how.

—*Spanish Tragedy*, 111, xiii, 20 ff.

With the words "thou must enioyne Thine eies to obseruation" compare the words of Horatio in D (165, 13 ff.), already quoted and discussed: "Ihro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen." Here D offers an almost literal translation of the English. In A a trace of the expression is still to be seen, but in B one quite different has been substituted. Now Hamlet does in Shakespeare (1, v) "put an anticke disposition on," but this is the only resemblance that I have been able to discover between Shakespeare on the one hand, and D and *Spanish Tragedy* on the other. There is no direct intimation in Shakespeare that this "anticke disposition" is assumed, that he may find better opportunity of revenging himself as is the case in D and the *Spanish Tragedy*.

The source of both D and *Spanish Tragedy* is here to be found in Belleforest, where we read (p. 227, 1 f.): "toutesfois faut il attendre le temps, & les moyens & occasions, a fin que si ie precipitois par trop les matieres, ie ne causasse ma ruine trop soudaine."¹

While in Belleforest Hamlet assumes madness to escape the intrigues of his uncle, the motif is somewhat changed in D and *Spanish Tragedy*, where Hamlet and Hieronimo assume madness to better attain their ends. That, however, the change was a conscious one on the part of Kyd would seem to be evident from the following parallelism between Belleforest's *Amleth* and Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*:

¹ This is certainly confirmation of BRANDL's thesis (*Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1891, 2, S. 727) that the *Spanish Tragedy* was composed after the *Ur-Hamlet*.

Pist. Now it fits my wisdome to counterfeit the foole.

* * * * *

God sends fortune to fooles. Did you euer see wise man escape
as I have done?

—*Sol. and Per.* (11, i, 320, and ii, 1 f.)

le Prince Amleth se voyant en danger de sa vie, . . . il contrefeist
le fol.

—Bell., 209, 9 f.

Whether Hamlet's madness in Shakespeare be real or assumed is, as everyone knows, a much disputed question. In D there can be no doubt but that it was merely assumed; in this respect and in the further development of the motif D shows evident resemblance to Kyd. In this instance we have what seems to be a clear case of parallelism, both as regards phraseology and motif, between D and Kyd; the source is also apparent—Belleforest.

c) As already stated the death of Ophelia occurs under quite different circumstances in D and the Shakespearian versions.

Königin. Die Ophelia ist auf einen hohen Berg gestiegen, und hat sich selber heruntergestürzt und um das Leben gebracht.

—D, 184, 9 f.

The highly poetical account of Ophelia's accidental drowning in Shakespeare (IV, vii) is too familiar to require quotation. I would refer, however, to the words of Malone, quoted by Furness (Vol. I, pp. 372 f., to line 185): "In the first scene of the next Act we find Ophelia buried with such rites as betoken she *foredid her own life*." A, 1966, reads in the passage to which Malone refers:

Priest. My Lord, we haue done all that lies in vs,
And more than well the church can tolerate,
She hath had a Dirge sung for her maiden soule:
And but for fauour of the king, and you,
She had beene buried in the open fieldes,
Where now she is allowed christian buriall.

B expresses the same idea, though the phraseology is quite different, and not at all so definite as A.

The idea of suicide is then hinted at in Shakespeare, but in a scene which is omitted in D. D not only plainly states that Ophelia took her own life, but even assigns a manner of death of which there is no hint in Shakespeare, but which is very characteristic of Kyd.

Bel.. But say, *Hieronimo*,
 What then became of him that was the Bashaw?
Hier. Marrie, thus : mooued with remorse of his misdeeds,
 Ran to a mountaine top and hung himselfe.
 — *Spanish Tragedy*, IV, i, 126 f.

Or,

Sol.
 But, soft, me thinkes he is not satisfied :
 The breath dooth murmure softly from his lips,
 And bids me kill those bloudie witnesses
 By whose treacherie Erastus dyed.
 Lord Marshall, hale them to the towers top,
 And throw them headlong downe into the valley ;
 * * * * *
 Why, when, Lord marshall? great *Hectors* sonne,
 Although his age did plead for innocence
 Was sooner tumbled from the fatall tower
 Then are those periurde wicked witnesses.
Then they are both tumbled downe.
 — *Soliman and Perseda*, V, ii, 114 f.

This last passage is especially interesting, as it must have been written at a time when Kyd no longer read “*English Seneca* by candle-light.” For, in the passage mentioned (*English Seneca*, 117*b*), Astianax is not “tumbled downe,” but, just as Ophelia, he throws himself down.

But whyle on Gods Vlisses cald, and Calches wordes expound,
 Inmidst of Pryams land (alas) the child leapt downe to ground.

Another example may be found, *English Seneca*, p. 74*b*, and p. 201*b*, we discover why this death was preferred:

Dispatch then quickly with the blade, yet let thy blade alone,
 For who with weapon endes their lyfe tis long ere they be gon
 I wilbe headlong hurled from a rocke as hie as skies.

Thorndike (*Publications*, p. 161, n. 4) calls attention to the fact that the report of Antonio's death in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (IV, i), published in 1602, directly recalls the report of Ophelia's death in D.

Distraught and raving, from a turret's top,
 He threw his body in the swollen sea.

Attempts have been made to explain, from the poet's standpoint, this obvious contradiction in Shakespeare. Is it not, however, more probable to assume that Ophelia's death occurred in the *Ur-Hamlet* as preserved in D? This abrupt and inartistic motif of Shakespeare's original he changed in his first version, neglecting, however, to eliminate the reference to the former manner of death in the following act. A study of the two quartos, where A uses much more decided and definite phraseology would tend to strengthen this view.

d) Corambus in D, as the old and tried confidant of the king, corresponds to Jeronimo in Kyd's play of the same name, and announces Hamlet's madness to the royal couple just as Jeronimo tells his wife of Lorenzo's malice:

Corambus. Neue Zeitung, gnädiger Herr und König!

König. Was ist denn Neues vorhanden?

Corambus. Prinz Hamlet ist toll, ja so toll, als der griechische Tolleran jemals gewesen.

—D, 159, 25 f.

Ieronimo. Peace: who comes here? Newes,

Newes, Isabella.

Isabella.

What newes Ieronimo.

Ieronimo. Strange newes: Lorenzo is becom an honest man.

Isabella. Is this your wondrous newes?

Ieronimo.

I, ist not wondrous

To haue honesty in hel?

—*Jeronimo*, 1, iii, 90 f.

Thorndike (*Publications*, p. 162, n. 4) notes the resemblance between the passage quoted from *Jeronimo* with a passage in the second part of *Antonio and Mellida* (11, 2, p. 137), without, however, calling attention to D.

Ant. Hark ye; I'll tell you wondrous strange, strange news.

Maria. What, my good boy, stark mad?

Antonio. I am not.

Maria. Alas!

Is that strange news?

Antonio. Strange news? Why, mother, is't not wondrous strange.

I am not mad—I am not frantic, ha? etc.

e) I have already called attention to the important difference between Hamlet's advice to the players in D and in Shakespeare.

In D (163, 18 f.) he concerns himself almost exclusively with accuracy of costume. Compare with this Hieronimo's directions in the *Spanish Tragedy* (IV, i, 140 f.):

And heere, my Lords, are seuerall abstracts drawne,
For each of you to note your parts,
And act it as occasion's offred you.
You must provide a Turkish cappe,
A black mustacio, and a Fauchion.

Gives a paper to Bal.

You, with a Crosse, like to a Knight of Rhodes.

Gives another to Lor.

And, Madame, you must attire your selfe

He giueth Bel. another.

Like *Phoebe, Flora*, or the huntresse, etc.

Such passages as I have given, illustrating agreement between D and Kyd's works against Shakespeare, I could multiply several times over, but it is not my purpose to exhaust the subject here. Several questions of importance, e. g., the character of the queen in D, or the attempt to murder Hamlet by the two servants of the king, must also be held in abeyance.

Although I have not been able to demonstrate that D must represent Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet*, yet I do believe that I have fulfilled Creizenach's demands that (1) D in certain respects stands in closer relation to Belleforest than does Shakespeare, and that (2) in passages where D varies from the Shakespearian versions it shows undeniable agreement, both as regards phraseology and motif, with the extant works of Thomas Kyd.

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